

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
MERITS
OF THE SUPPOSED
PRELIMINARIES
OF
PEACE,

Signed on the 3d Instant.



LONDON,
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W. M.

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O F T H E S U P P O S E D
Preliminaries of P E A C E.

NO reasonable Man (whatever be his Party) will exclaim against the present Peace, till he knows it to be a bad one. No just Man (whatever be his Interest) will condemn those who have negotiated it, till he is sure they are to blame. To such Men therefore, who have Sense and
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Uprightness enough to be candid, in these Times of Violence and Clamour, an Enquiry into the Foundation of that Violence and Clamour will not be unacceptable.

The present War has been conducted by three different Ministries. It was begun under the old Administration : They lost *Minorca*, and resigned. The late Minister carried it on with Spirit and Success ; but he did not succeed in his Negotiations for a Peace, and soon after those Negotiations broke off, he resigned. The War has from that Period been conducted by the present Administration ; They too have carried it on with Spirit and Success ; and who that wishes well
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to his Country, does not wish they may succeed in their Endeavours to make a Peace, provided they make a good one ?

Want of Vigour is generally imputed to the old Administration : Unequal (it is said) to the Conduct of an arduous War, they are supposed to have been long desirous of a Peace, tho' the Terms of it should not have been so good as many People think we are intitled to expect. But the Defects that may have given them this Bias, can never be ascribed to the late Minister, or to the present Administration. The Year Fifty-nine shews the one, the Year Sixty-two shews the other, to be equal to the

most arduous War under whatever Difficulties. Neither can be suspected of concluding a Peace, from an Inability in themselves to continue the War : But a Peace on proper Terms must be always a desirable Object to a commercial Country ; and therefore both have endeavoured to obtain it.

The Terms insisted on by the late Minister are generally agreed to have been advantageous and honourable to *Great-Britain*. But the Enemy did not think themselves then reduced to the Necessity of submitting to them, and the Negotiation broke off. On what Terms the present Negotiation is founded, we do not certainly

tainly know ; but it has been confidently asserted, that they are in some Respects better, in no Respect worse, than the former : They must be then equally advantageous with those we were at that Time contented with ; for the Value of the Acquisitions is exactly the same as it was. But this perhaps may not be enough : For the same Peace may be a good one or a bad one, at different Times and in different Circumstances : Is then our Situation better or worse than it was ?

Since the last Treaty broke off, and before that now negotiating began, we conquered *Martinico*. Our other Successes, and particularly

larly that at the *Havannah*, have been during the Negotiation, and are therefore a separate Consideration. But *Martinico* is alone a great additional Weight in our Scale, and seems the greater, from our having failed in our former Attempt to subdue it. On the other hand, we are twelve Millions deeper in Debt than we were last Year, and our National Debt was enormous before : We are besides engaged in an additional War with *Spain* ; and have not only our own Quarrel to fight, but our best Ally *Portugal*, suffering in our Cause, must be defended on every Principle of Interest and Honour. In all these Points our Situation differs now from what it was last Year. It is
certainly

certainly more glorious, because we have been farther successful : It is as certainly more distressed, for our Debt, and our Expences, and our Enemies are increased. None can think it much better, many will think it much worse than it was ; for in their Estimation *Martinico* would not seem to be ill exchanged for Peace with *Spain*, Security to *Portugal*, and twelve Millions of Money, the War with *France* continuing as it was : And even supposing the Balance upon the whole to be in our Favour, the Advantage (as it is certainly not considerable) will be well improved, if it be made the Means of concluding that advantageous and honourable Peace we in vain attempted

attempted to obtain in the former Negotiation.

There does not then appear any Reason to expect better Terms than we demanded last Year : On the contrary, there seems great Reason to be contented with the same as *France* then refused to come into ; yet a violent Clamour has been attempted to be raised now, and none was heard of then : Have we any Ground to suppose the Terms to be worse ? Tho' we do not precisely know what the Preliminaries are, we generally believe them to be such as they are reported to be ; Do even those Reports represent them to be worse, and justify the Clamour ?

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The first Enquiry into the Merits of a Peace is, whether it answer the Purposes of the War? The present War with *France* was begun for the Security of our *American* Colonies; and the Northern Colonies can never be exposed after the Cession of *Canada*: The late Minister required that Cession: The present Ministry, it is said, require exactly the same. For the Security of our new Acquisition, and our more Southern Colonies, where we could not demand Cessions, as we had not made Conquests, it was necessary to ascertain Boundaries between the *French* and our Territory. Between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, the Line drawn by

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the M. de *Vaudreuil* was in the late Negotiation chosen for the Boundary : Between *Louisiana* and our Southern Colonies, the Limits were marked by the Names of Nations, whose Countries and their Extent are very little known to us : In the present Treaty, it is said, our Limits are fixed by the Banks of the *Mississippi*, which is not only a Boundary that can never be disputed, but at the same time it adds to our Empire all the *Indian* Nations that have ever annoyed us, and many of the most valuable *French* Settlements in *Louisiana*.

The next great Object of a Peace, is totally and effectually to put an End to the War in every
Quarter :

[II]

Quarter : We are engaged in two different Kinds of War, a Maritime, and a Continental : The former has been successful, the latter destructive. All Hostilities, in any Shape connected with the Maritime or Commercial War, were by the last Treaty, and are by the present, immediately, or within a given Time, to cease. The *French*, in the late Negotiation, offered the same Conditions, with respect to their and our Continental Connections ; and if we would have engaged not to assist the King of *Prussia* with Troops or Subsidies, they would have engaged not to assist the Queen of *Hungary* : The Offer was rejected, and we should there-

fore have continued to be concerned in a *German* Quarrel against *France*, after a Peace with *France*, for how long and to what Degree no-body can say. I believe the present Ministry are not suspected of any such Intention : The only Continental Object of Importance to us, is the Evacuation of *Ostend* and *Nieuport*, which, it is said, are to be restored to the same Situation as they were put in by the Barrier Treaty.

Another principal Consideration in the making of a Peace, is its Stability ; and for that Purpose Precision is necessary. The Encroachments of the *French*, which occasioned the present War, were covered

covered for some Time by the Uncertainty in which former Treaties had left the Boundaries in *America*: This we have already seen will be more effectually remedied by the present Treaty, than it would have been by the last. The Affairs of *India* were not attempted to be settled in the late Negotiation: They were left to a future Discussion between the two *East-India* Companies: The Companies might not have agreed, and War might soon have revived in that Part of the World, which perhaps would not have been confined to that Part only: But it is said, that in the present Negotiation, these also are settled.

A Peace,

A Peace, that has these three Requisites, cannot be a bad one, unless we have gained such a Superiority over our Enemies, as intitles us to demand other Advantages, not immediately relative to the Occasion of the War, or to the Continuance of the Peace, but to be granted to us merely on Account of our Superiority. Such Advantages we have claimed both in the late and the present Negotiation. The Cession of *Canada* is one of them, for that Country was not in Dispute before the War: The mere Settling a Frontier in *North America* would have been a Security against the Injuries we took up Arms to redress; but
we

we have gained, as Conquerors, the Country on both Sides the disputed Frontier to the North, and have removed our Frontier to the South beyond even our own Pretensions, by the Addition of so great a Part of *Louisiana*.

The Fishery on the Banks of *Newfoundland* has been divided, since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, between the *French* and the *English*; that in the Gulph of St. *Laurence* almost monopolized by the *French*. In the late Negotiation, their Right to catch Fish on the Banks, and to dry it on the Shore of *Newfoundland*, was to be acknowledged as before: But by the Cession of all the Coasts of the Gulph of St.

St. *Laurence*, they were to be in a great measure excluded from the Fishery there, which has always been to them far the greater of the two and for the Benefit of either Fishery, a diminutive Island, incapable of Settlement, by Stipulation not to be fortified, and under the Inspection of an *English* Commissary, cannot be compared to the Harbours, the Fortres, the Settlements, and the Coasts they have hitherto been possessed of. These were the Acquisitions in *North America* by the late Negotiation, and these, it is reported, we are to have, without any material Alteration, by the present.

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In the *West-Indies*, by the late Treaty, the neutral Islands were to have been equally divided between *France* and *Great-Britain*, the *French* Ministry insisting that *St. Lucia* should be in their Division. Those who thought this Stipulation to our Prejudice, because once we pretended to the Whole, did not distinguish between a disputed Claim and an acknowledged Right : Those who thought it had been as well if they had been continued neutral, did not know that, while they were declared so, they were most of them occupied by the *French* and their Dependents. But to those who are acquainted with the State of

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our *West-Indies*, two Sugar Islands, which may now be improved to the utmost, without any Danger of the Planters being molested in their Improvements, or of their Property being hereafter called in Question, seemed a very valuable Acquisition ; and the Grant of as many Islands to the Enemy was by no means a Balance ; because we have cultivated almost all, and have worn out some of our Possessions in the *West-Indies* : They have still much uncultivated, and do not want more for the same Purposes as we do. By the present Treaty, it is reported, a different Division is to be made : Three out of four neutral Islands are to be ceded to *Great-Britain* ; and to these the
Grenades

Grenades are to be added, which have been always the Property of *France*; and are valuable not only for their Produce, but for the best Harbour in the *West-Indies*.

In *Africa*, *Senegal* and *Goree* were, by the late Treaty, to have been ceded to *Great-Britain*; but *France* was to have had some other Settlement on the same Coast for the Purchase of Slaves. It is the Fashion now to value *Senegal* at a very low Rate: I remember the Fashion quite otherwise; and certainly the Gum can be had nowhere else, and is necessary to many Manufactures. If such a Commodity were solely in the Hands of our Enemies, they might find

Means to distress our; if it is in our Hands, we may find Means to distress their Manufactures. By the present Negotiation, it is said, that *Senegal* is, for these Reasons, to be ceded to *Great-Britain*; and *Goree*, it is reported, is to be that Settlement which the *French* require for the Purchase of Slaves: As we do not want it for that Purpose, it may be as convenient to us that they should have that, as any other Settlement on the Coast: No commercial Advantages were expected from the Possession of *Goree*; but it has been represented as necessary to the Security of *Senegal*: I do not know that it is: I only know that we held *Senegal* a Twelve-month before we took *Goree*;

Goree; and if it be not necessary for Defence, a Garrison in such an unhealthy Climate is a heavy and a useless Incumbrance.

In the *East-Indies* nothing was determined by the late Negotiation; by the present, it is said, every Thing is settled; and we have probably secured more during the Success of the present War, than we could have got by the subsequent Negotiations of Commissioners in Time of Peace: They are to begin their Trade there anew; they are to carry it on under certain Restrictions which we have imposed on them; and tho' their Settlements are restored, yet they are dismantled and demolished,

molished, and are not to be re-fortified; so that the *French* must depend upon us for their Protection from the Natives, and will be always in our Power.

In *Europe*, all Conquests on both Sides were by the late, and are by the present Negotiation to be mutually restored. This Article too is in our Favour; for we have only *Belleisle* and *Munster* to restore: They had last Year *Minorca*, all *Hesse*, and Part of *Hanover*: This Year they have indeed less in *Germany*; but they have been more successful in a Part where we are more sensible; and yet *Portugal* dangerously invaded, in Part conquered, and the Whole imminently threatened,

threatened, is to be evacuated ;
and by both Treaties the Fortifi-
cations of *Dunkirk* are to be de-
stroyed.

For all these Advantages in every
Part of the Globe, *Guadaloupe* and
Martinico are to be restored to the
French : For Terms far less advan-
tageous than these, the Restitution
of *Guadaloupe* was agreed upon
last Year ; and yet that Restitution
could not then obtain those Terms :
Whether we are intitled to better
Terms upon the whole than were
then demanded, has been con-
sidered above ; yet we do actually
get better for ourselves, and much
more humbling to *France*, than
those she then refused to submit
to ;

to; and *Franca*, if the present Treaty takes place, will be in many Respects worse, in no Respect better, than she would have been if she had concluded the Treaty last Year; for then she would have had *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*.

On this Footing the Negotiation stood, according to common Report, when we heard of the Conquest of the *Havannah*; Those, who were too fond of the War, made this a Pretence for fresh Clamour, on a Presumption that it would be restored without an Equivalent: Those, who were too impatient for Peace, exclaimed too, from an Apprehension that the Ministry might rise in their Demands,

mands, and thereby protract the Negotiation. Till their Conduct was certainly known, no honest or sensible Man could join in either Clamour: But the current Opinion is, that they have risen in their Demands, and that the *Spaniards* have acquiesced in them. What they particularly are we do not imagine we know, even with that Degree of Positiveness we pretend to about the Terms with *France*: But if the vague Rumours of the Day deserve any Credit; if *Florida* is to be ceded to us; if commercial Advantages are to be granted to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, which, with respect to them, will take away the Force of the so much dreaded Family-Compact;

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if all our Disputes with that Crown, which gave Occasion to the last, and furnished a Pretence for the present War with *Spain*, are to be determined entirely to our Satisfaction ; then this Part of the Negotiation, in which no other Ministry but the present ever had so much as an Opinion, will be more to our Advantage, than even the Unreasonableness of Clamour ever thought possible.

The whole Treaty then taken together gives us every commercial Advantage we ever claimed, and secures to us every commercial Object which our Enemies ever wished to deprive us of. Our *American* Empire will be enlarged
beyond

beyond our most sanguine Expectations by the Cession of *Canada*, with the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, Part of *Louisiana*, and all *Florida*; which gives us the entire Dominion of that immense Continent between the Ocean and the River *Mississippi*. Our *West-India* Settlements are increased in Extent and in Value by the Accession of four Sugar Islands. While the *French* retained the Shores of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and had Colonies in the Neighbourhood, they had Advantages over us in the Fishery: We have now still greater Advantages over them; and as we shall be able to carry it on more conveniently, with more Certainty, and at less Expence, we must in Time get

get most of it from them. Tho' the War has been extended to every Quarter of the Globe, it is terminated every-where by Cessions in our Favour, and all our Advantages are commercial: Both our Enemies contribute to our Greatness, and neither we nor any of our Allies cede a Village in Return. Our Trade with *Spain* is to be on a better Footing than it ever has been; and we may assure ourselves that with *Portugal* will not, after what we have done for them, be put upon a worse. A Peace is undoubtedly much wanted, if it be not necessary to us: We have no Reason to expect higher Terms, when lower were refused us last Year; but if we were to continue the

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the War, one Reverse of Fortune
 might deprive us of the Oppor-
 tunity of getting the same: And
 surely the Improvement of these
 Advantages is preferable to any
 Thing we can get by the Con-
 tinuance of the War: Our present
 Superiority over our Enemies was
 obtained not by Conquest, but by
 the Arts of Peace, the Improve-
 ment of our Trade and our Co-
 lonies: By the same Arts we must
 maintain that Superiority; and
 under the great Advantages pro-
 cured by the present Treaty, we
 shall increase it. But by venturing
 beyond our Strength, and demand-
 ing Terms which our Enemies,
 humbled indeed, but not con-
 quered, could not possibly grant,
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we might endanger the greatest Part of what we now get, and may enjoy in Safety for ever.

If the Preliminaries then should be such as they are reported to be, and this be the right, the candid Way of considering them, surely no just Man, when he knows what they are, and no sensible Man, when he understands them, will refuse his Approbation to the most advantageous and honourable Peace that ever was made, or attempted to be made, for *Great-Britain*.

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